1: Karsten--184
116, 582, 721, 186

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"Closely connected with this antagonism between the different Jibaro tribes is their marked endogamy. Marriages are, as a rule, only contracted between persons belonging to families related to each other and socially united. When it has been said that they, like other Indians, particularly make war against other tribes for the sake of procuring women, (1) the wives of the vanquished enemies regularly becoming the wives of their victors, this clearly involves an exaggeration. The Jibaros fear and detest strange tribes--especially of their own nation --and do not set foot in their dominions except with inimical intentions. How the Jibaros regard exogamous marriages, or sexual relations with members of strange tribes in general, may be inferred from the fact that if a widow or some other woman has been made pregnant by a man belonging to another tribe, the woman is compelled to kill the child as soon as it is born, if it is a boy, 'in order that the strange man may not leave offspring within the tribe'. The relations to strange tribes will be dealt with again in connection with the wars of the Indians. For the moment it is important to point out that the Jibaros are not likely to take their wives from tribes whom they regard as mortal enemies; such cases rather form exceptions than the rule. This leads us to examine the marriage customs of the Indians."

"1. Rivet, 'Les Indiens Jibaros', in L'Anthropologie, XVIII. 605. 615."

D: Dyott--159 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
6, 186

"For the whites, the Shuaros have nothing but a feeling of supreme contempt. They ill pander to those settlers who live on the fringe of their country for what they can et out of them, but at heart, they are full of scorn for their lack of manly virtues and eir inability to provide for themselves in the jungle. They once occupied a portion of e mountainous region of Ecuador, but were attacked and eventually subdued by the reat Inca invasion from Peru. So contrary was the Inca conception of freedom to that the Shuaros that the most warlike of the latter tribe would not subject themselves to nca domination, but fled to the forests. To-day, the Incas are shorn of all national eeling, yet the Shuaros still maintain their racial characteristics, and their warlike ropensities still cause the governments of Lima and Quito concern."

3½ Danielsson--89 [3] (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571, 186

"The present study is of the 'atomic' type.(4) Each individual is regarded as a unit integrated in a system, in the same way as the atoms form certain patterns in the so-called material world. The interaction between these units is in our case described in terms of attraction and repulsion.

The field-work was made easy by the fact that the Jibaros are extremely aware of and outspoken about their relations to each other. The continuous wars and fights have sharpened their feelings of friendship and hostility. As an example of this can be mentioned the not uncommon habit of the family head of beginning the day with a loud and fierce recitation of the names of enemies, so that the family members may not forget them. Repulsions, which sometimes have been difficult to record in our civilized societies, turned out to be even easier to get than the attractions."

"4. The point of departure is to be found in the works of J.L. Moreno and George A. Lundberg, as presented in such publications as for instance: J.L. Moreno: Who Shall Survive? Beacon House, N.Y., 1934; and 'Sociometry in Relation to Other Social Sciences', Sociometry, Vol.1, 1937; Lundberg: Foundations of Sociology, McMillan, 1939. 'Social Attraction Patterns in a Village', Sociometry, no.3-4, 1938, and 'The Growth of the Social Sciences', The American Journal of Sociology, no.6, 1945."

31; Danielsson--103-105
116, 571, 621, 186

(1946-48) 1949

Jivaro-1

"The overlapping of the answers of the male and female adults was studied in one geographical group, the Patucas. The result is shown in Table VII. As seen, the correspondence is almost perfect. Whether this holds true for all the geographical groups, and whether the women to women patterns correspond with those for men, only further research can demonstrate. It seems, however, likely that the men's opinion in the present matter to a large extent determine the women's also in other groups. This is supposed not because of a complete submission of the women--which is far from true--but because of the strict division of labor and interests between the sexes. Formation of alliances and actions against enemies are part of the 'politics' and as such belong exclusively to the masculine sphere.

Eventually an attempt was made to determine the relation between repulsions and geographical space. As already has been pointed out (Part I, pp. 6-7), great hostility exists between the different geographical groups. In order to ascertain the degree of hostility all male individuals of the three previous groups (Patuca, Yurupaza, Yaupi) and of another Jibaro group, otherwise not dealt with in this study, the Huambizas, living farther down the Santiago River, were interviewed about their feelings toward the [105]members of their respective out-groups. The number and percentage of individuals in each group answering that all the members of the other geographical

groups were enemies are indicated in Table VIII, column I. The figures for those who answered that one or more individuals from the other groups were friends are given in column II in the same table."

31: Danielsson--105 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571, 186

"As could be suspected there is a positive correlation between the degree of hostility and the geographical space. It seems likely that a correlation as indicated in Table IX could be found in the whole Jibaro country.

TABLE IX

Correlation Between Hostility and Geographical Space

Geographical groups	Approximate distance	Hostility in percentage (as in Table VIII)
Yurupaza-Huambiza	50 miles	100%
Huambiza-Yurupaza	50 miles	100%
Patuca-Huambiza	40 miles	100%
Huambiza-Patuca	40 miles	100%
Huambiza-Yaupi	30 miles	100%
Yaupi-Huambiza	30 miles	95.83%
Yaupi-Yurupaza	25 miles	91.66%
Patuca-Yaupi	25 miles	91.3%
Yurupaza-Yaupi	25 miles	90.90%
Yaupi-Patuca	25 miles	83.33%
Patuca-Yurupaza	15 miles	82.60%
Yurupaza-Patuca	15 miles	81.81% "

/SD9 cont./

dangerous. Farther down, however, the rivers had to be waded, for the Jesuits, in order to make access to their mission more difficult, had pulled down the bridges formerly present and had taken the canoes used for ferrying into Mácas into their own custody.

Mácas, 1,051 meters above sea level, with an average annual temperature of 20.8°C., is located on a small plateau in the midst of the forest; a large, quadrangular area, the plaza, has been cleared of trees. The church, built of tall, column-like palm trunks, the convento, i.e., the dwelling of the priests, and the school lie on one side; the other three sides are bounded by forest. The place has about 300 inhabitants, counting women and children, but extends over a large area, since the houses lie scattered individually in the forest, often quite far from one another. The inhabitants of Mácas, as well as those of Paire and Suling, are Quechua Indians, that is, they speak the Quechua language. /336/ are Christians in name, and live under the control of the clerical or secular officials of the republic of Ecuador, whose despotism and oppression they do not resist at all. Jesuit rule at the time of my visit was unlimited: corporal punishment was meted out for the slightest transgression; every word that did not breathe the deepest servility and reverence was mercilessly punished, and every denunciation of such a transgression received most obligingly. Trade and agriculture languished; contact with the civilized part of the country had been cut off, and even intercourse with the neighboring wild Indians was strictly forbidden. This small community lived in deep resentment under their priestly tyrant; the Jívaros, however, looked upon the inhabitants with disdain for putting up with such unworthy treatment and scornfully rejected every attempt to convert them to the Christian religion.

As has already been mentioned, Mácas lies deep in the territory of the Jívaros. Everywhere in the forest, indeed hardly a quarter of an hour away from Mácas, lie their large tambos. Narrow paths lead through the dense forest, and, following them, one quite suddenly and without any previous signs of civilization comes upon the open plaza surrounding the house. Each house

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

told, in addition, that they must wash their hands before preparing beer or else the product will not be satisfactory. It is believed that if children are not taught to bathe at an early age, they will be afraid of cold water and their parents will find it necessary to drag them to the stream. Getting the child used to bathing is also seen as connected with teaching it, in the process, to swim well, a skill which is considered essential to survival because of the frequent necessity of crossing streams and rivers which are often dangerously swollen and rapid.

Children tend to be discouraged from playing, since it is felt that such behavior leads to a disinclination to work. Jesting or joking by children is similarly frowned upon, because it is believed to lead to lying in adult life. Nonetheless, children do often try to play until halted by their parents, who are likely to stop them more rapidly if children of both sexes are playing together. If a particular older child, who is visiting, has a reputation for playing and jesting, parents may tell their own offspring not to play with the visitor.

At this point, it seems appropriate to point out that one of the more significant features of Jivaro socialization may be the relative isolation of children from peers outside their own polygynous nuclear family, due to the extreme dispersion of households in the forest. This isolation seems likely to be conducive to a sense of alienation from the rest of the tribe, particularly when coupled with the traditional early morning lectures which fathers give to "make them be careful" in dealing with others beyond the household and which emphasize the deceitful and treacherous characteristics of other tribesmen. Adding to the child's sense of insecurity vis-à-vis the rest of the population is the frequent attribution of illness within the household to the bewitching activities of hostile shamans. Finally, the dispersion of the population in

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

• 186 203 small households over a large area results in a very poor communication system in which fourth- or fifth-hand information usually arrives garbled and exaggerated through repetition, the erroneous rumors giving rise to misunderstanding, suspicion, and hostility.

867 262 855 Children frequently steal portions of cooked meat from one another and wrestle over them, which reflects the fact that meat is not always abundant in the household, depending on the father's hunting success and his immediate commitment to some other task, such as clearing trees. There is also a reluctance to give a small child more than a single piece of meat, for it is believed that varying the portion may cause it to cry when it doesn't get as much as it did on a previous occasion.

865 [867] While stealing and wrestling over meat is disapproved of and, if repeated, may be punished by the father by spanking with a nettle, wrestling for its own sake between boys is approved and encouraged, although the father may advise them not to hurt one another. Sometimes nettle spanking may 861 be used to stop children from playing, or the father may find it sufficient simply to threaten to bring a nettle. A child who regularly grabs things that he might damage, such as pottery bowls, may have his hand beaten with a nettle. In general, however, there is little in the Jivaro house that a child can damage, since pottery not in use is stored on high bamboo shelves, and personal effects are suspended in baskets out of [867] their reach. As a result, discipline with regard to safeguarding property is not emphasized.

[867] If a child is extraordinarily bad, and, despite nettle spanking, continues breaking pottery vessels, taking meat without asking permission, and stealing peanuts from storage baskets above the rafters, the parents may undertake the harshest punishment they ever use on children. This consists of drop-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Rights, Offenses, and Sanctions

It is considered wrong to kill or injure other persons within the tribe unless it is to punish someone for a similar act, in which case precise equivalence in retribution is justified. Most deaths are considered to be cases of homicide, whether through actual physical violence (including poisoning), bewitching, or by avenging souls (*musiak*) of the dead. While no retaliation is attempted in the case of deaths believed to be caused by *musiak*, retaliation by *tsunkiatsiak* is definitely considered to be in order when a member of one's conjugal family is murdered through physical violence or witchcraft.

According to Jivaro norms, approved sanctions are an approximation of equivalent retaliation against the guilty party himself or a member of his immediate family, such as a brother, wife, or child. Thus the sanction against homicide is homicide. Although such sanctions are directed primarily at adult males, partially because it is not considered particularly honorable or desirable to kill women or children within the tribe, the punitive assassin may kill their intended victim's wife or child if they fail to find him at home when they make their vengeance raid. It is also considered completely proper to kill a woman or child if the act is in retaliation for the previous murder of a woman or child. Great pains are usually taken to kill only one person in retaliation for one murder. This structure of intra-tribal retaliation on a one-to-one basis should be clearly distinguished from the head-taking raids against the Achuara tribe, which involve killing as many of the "aliens" as possible.

If there is a considerable lapse of time before administering a sanction, the guilty party may, after a few years, send

34 Harner E-6, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

believe that they lack adequate land, the whites feel that the Indians are not using all the territory at their disposal. This basic cultural difference makes successful communication and adjudication of disputes extremely difficult between the two groups. The Catholic Church, specifically the Salesian order, which has the responsibility for the missions in the Upano Valley, has generally chosen to side with the Indians, with the result that it has alienated a large portion of the white colonist population. Allegedly to show their displeasure, some of the whites are reported to be responsible for burning down a Salesian mission building at Sucúa in 1969.

The chief vehicle of Salesian support for the Jívaro is the Federation of Shuar Centers (*Federación Provincial de Centros Shuaras de Morona-Santiago*) founded in 1964 with the guidance of Padre Juan Shobris, and governed by Catholicized Jívaro.[1] The organization, aiming at representing the economic, political and cultural interests of the majority of Jívaro throughout the tribe, is attempting to encourage them to develop a secure economic base through cattle raising, creating pastures, and securing legal rights to their land. The Federation also tries to encourage ethnic pride through brief daily radio broadcasts transmitted in Jívaro from its new headquarters building in Sucúa. To this end, the native term, "Shuar" (*huará*), has been adopted in preference to the formerly locally prevalent "Jíbaro," the latter term being felt to connote "savage."

A serious problem for the Jívaro is that almost their only spokesmen in the Ecuadorian power structure are the missionaries, since there has not been a branch of the government concerned specifically with the protection of the rights of the forest Indians. Such a government agency would not necessarily right the injustices to the Indians (witness the many historic failures of the U. S. Bureau of Indian Af-